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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-04 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4542
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 5946

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR
SUBJECT: NATO/IS WORKING PAPER ON CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

MOSCOW PASS COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT AND ASSISTANT SECREATRY HARTMAN

MISSION TRANSMITS BELOW TEXT OF NATO/IS WORKING PAPER ON CSCE/MBFR REVERSE LINKAGE DISCUSSED IN SPC OCTOBER 24 (SEPTEL.

BEGIN TEXT.

AT THE COUNCIL MEETING ON 2ND OCTOBER, THE ACTING PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES RASIED THE POSSIBILITY OF TURNING THE TABLES ON THE SOVIET UNION WHICH WAS SEEKING TO LINK MBFR AND CSCE BY ESTABLISHING SUCH A LINK OURSELVES MAKING PROGRESS IN CSCE CONTINGENT UPON EASTERN MOVEMENT IN MBFR.

2. AS AGREED BY THE COUNCIL ON THAT OCCASION, THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT WITH A VEW TO CLARIFYING THE ISSUES INVOLVED BEFORE FURTHER DEBATE IN COUNCIL. CONFIDENTIAL

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3. THE UNITED STATES INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING THAT THE MATTER SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WAS GENERALLY WELCOMED BY THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE, THOUGH THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE STRESSED THAT THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL POSITION OF HIS GOVERN-

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MENT ON THE QUESTION OF ANY LINK BETWEEN MBFR AND CSCE. THE MAIN POINTS OF SUBSTANCE WHICH AROSE IN THE DISCUSSION ARE REFLECTED BELOW.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SETS OF NEGOTIATIONS

4. ALTHOUGH INTER-RELATED HISTROICALLY, CSCE AND MBFR ARE CHARACTERIZED BY CERTAIN BASIC DIFFERENCES WHICH COMPLICATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LINK:

(A) THE DIFFERENCE IN THE TIME SCALES. CSCE APPEARS CERTAIN TO END LONG BEFORE MBFR. THIS RAISES THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO GUARANTEE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD IN THE EVENT RESPECT ANY AGREEMENT TO PAY A PRICE IN MBFR FOR PROGRESS IN CSCE;

(B) THE DIFFERENCE IN PARTICIPATION BETWEEN THE TWO NEGOTIATIONS; MBFR IS CONFINED TO NATO AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND IS BLOC-TO-BLOC, WHILE CSCE INCLUDES NEUTRAL COUNTRIES. THIS RASIES THE PROBLEM THAT LINKAGE COULD OFFEND CERTAIN OF THE PARTICIPATNS IN THE CSCE AND ALIENATE THEM FROM THE SIDE OF THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS.

DEFINITION OF AIMS

5. IN ORDER TO GIVE EFFECT TO LINKAGE, THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO AGREE ON PRECISELY WHAT PROPOSALS THEY WERE PREPARED TO MAKE IN THE CSCE AND WHAT PRICE THEY WOULD SEEK IN RETURN IN VIENNA. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW AN OFFER TO SPEED UP THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA COULD BE MADE REALISTICALLY WITHOUT BEING ACCOMPANIED BY AN OFFER OF CONCESSIONS. IT WAS NOT ALLIED DELE-GATIONS WHO WERE SLOWING DOWN CSCE.

RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ALLIED COUNTRIES IN THE TWO NEGOTIATIONS
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6. THE SOVIET UNION WAS SEEKING TO TAKE ADVANTGE OF THE FACT THAT THE ALLIED COUNTRIES WERE THE DEMANDEURS IN MBFR. BY CONTRAST, THE SOVIET UNION WAS MUCH LESS IN THE POSITION OF DEMANDEUR IN CSCE, PARTICULARLY NOW THAT IT HAD ACHIEVED ITS MAIN AIM IN BASKET I. THE REMAINING MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF THE SOVIETS IN CSCE APPEARED TO BE THE HOLDING OF A FINAL PHASE AT SUMMIT LEVEL. HOW MUCH OF A PRICE THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO PAY FOR THIS WAS NOT, HOWEVER, CLEAR.

ALLIANCE COHESION

7. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LINK COULD PLACE HEAVY STRAIN ON ALLIANCE COHESION AND GIVE THE SOVIET UNION THE OPPORTUNITY TO DRIVE WEDGES. IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE THAT THIS SHOULD

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NOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN. IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN ESTABLISHING AND ENSURING THE EFFECTIVE WORKING OF ANY LINK.

PROCEDURAL CONSIDERATIONS

8. THERE WAS A NEED FOR VERY CAREFUL EXPLORATION OF THE POSITION IF THE IDEA OF LINKAGE WAS TO BE PURSUED. FORTHCOMING BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH THE SOVIETS COULD PROVIDE A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR THIS.

GENERAL

9. A SUCCESSFUL AND SATIFACTORY LINK COULD BOTH ADVANCE THE NEOGITATIONS IN MBFR AND HELP TOWARDS AN EARLIER CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE, THOUGH THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE ON ACCEPTABLE TERMS. THERE WERE, HOWEVER, MAJOR PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES, IN PARTICULAR THAT OF DETERMINING JUST WHAT SHOULD BE PLACED ON EACH SIDE OF THE EQUATION. THERE WERE ALSO DANGERS THAT LINKAGE COULD LEAD TO DEADLOCK, DAMAGE TO THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, STRAINS WIHIN THE ALLIANCE AND DIVISIONS BETWEEN THE ALLIANCE COUNTRIES AND THE NEUTRALS IN GENEVA.

END TEXT.
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